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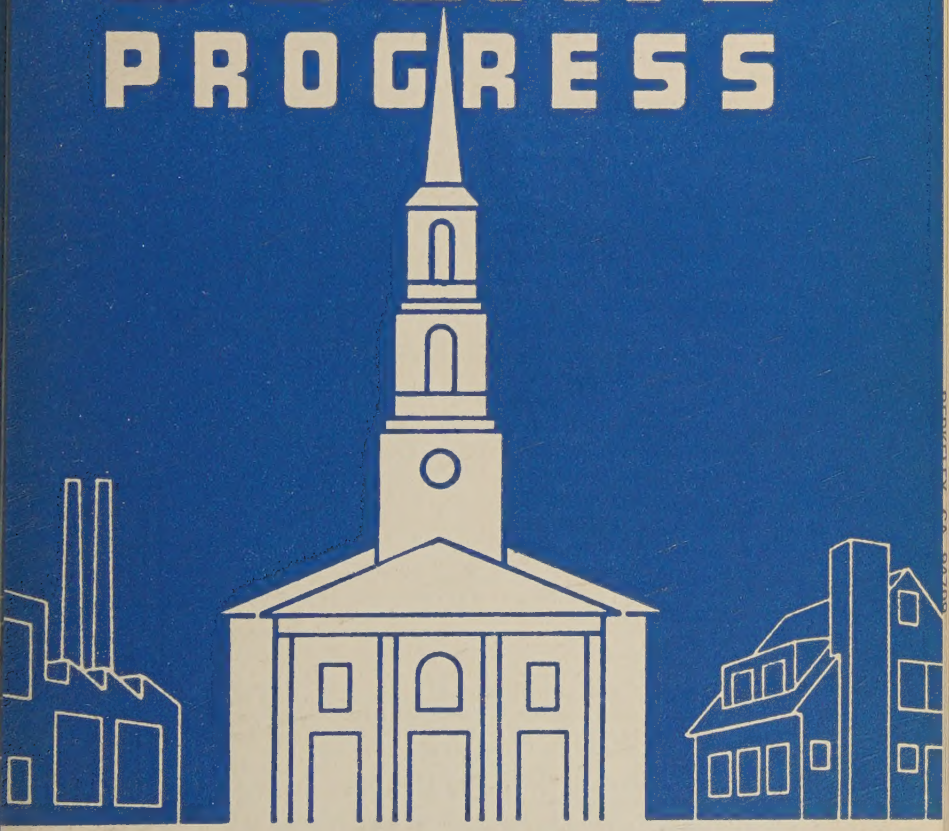

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JUNE 1945

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Not Discerning the Body

By E. B. Paisley *

"If he discern not the body. For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep."—I Cor. 11: 29, 30.

IT IS easy to fail to discern the unities within human groups. Sturdy Sergeant Smith was impatient with this new Army training called *gungho.*

"I came into this man's Army to fight, not to argue. All we do is talk, talk," was his complaining accusation. But Colonel Evans Carlson thought differently. He had learned of *gungho* from the Chinese. The term is derived from two words meaning "living in community."

This idea had captured the colonel's imagination as a basic philosophy of life for an efficient fighting unit. And that was what he was trying to produce. He was getting the boys of his unit (later known as Carlson's Raiders) ready for hard times ahead in the Pacific; times when the unit would be facing death amidst terrific odds in a strange new land; times when each man would be upon his own; times when every man must know what his unit as a whole was about; times when each must know that every other was in the right place, doing the right thing at the right time.

And so, Colonel Carlson, in addition to Army drill and hikes, was daily engaging his men in discussions and group conferences. And the sergeant didn't understand why all this talk.

But the day came when he did. It was after a terrific fight on a Japheld island. "I'm *gungho* now," he told the colonel on that day, "for I've learned what it means to be part of a group where every man's life depends upon the others and where you feel sure you can count on the others."

It is much easier in battle to discern the unity of the group than in days of peace. For the battle is a day of judgment making manifest ultimate realities. Paul was thinking of this when he wrote the eleventh chapter of I Corinthians. He was quick to point it out to the Christian Church in Corinth. He was concerned about their divisions, the cliques that had formed and disrupted their unity—cliques that had arisen because they had failed to discern the body; and this failure was now made manifest by diseases and death which had invaded the members of the Church.

Let us follow his thought. He had received disquieting news from this young Christian fellowship. "Ye come together not for the better

* Secretary, Division of Education in the Home, Church, and Community, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

but for the worse. . . . I hear that divisions exist among you; and I partly believe it." This fact, said Paul, made it impossible for them acceptably to engage in the Lord's Supper when they came together. This he could not praise, but must condemn.

Paul referred to a beautiful custom observed by them and other early Christian communions. This was the observance of the love feast, called in Greek the "agape." All the members met frequently for the common meal used, as Chrysostom says, as a "supporter of love, a solace of poverty, a moderator of wealth, and a discipline of humility." But this lovely expression of brotherhood was soon corrupted, and had already become so in Corinth. The meal had become an occasion for the display of wealth upon the part of the well-to-do and for the embarrassment of the poor. The well-to-do were segregating themselves in one place, while the poor were left with their scanty provisions to accommodate themselves. The wealthy were engaged in gluttonous eating and intemperate drinking even to the extent of drunkenness, while the poorer members were neglected and shamed. Thus the purpose and intent of the common meal was destroyed, and its observance became the occasion for dissension and party strife.

It was also the custom to combine the love feasts with the observance of the Lord's Supper. The Apostle Paul points out that such love feasts as they were having could never furnish an appropriate setting for the Lord's Supper. Here, where Christians commemorate their unity with Jesus Christ by remembering his love manifested by the gift of his body broken for them, and of life's blood shed for them, here could be no spirit of carnality and dissension. These are the very antitheses of the spirit of the Lord's table. For a man so to eat and to drink at his table is to bring condemnation upon himself, "if he discern not the body."

Then Paul adds an arresting sentence: "For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep." Some have thought that the apostle meant that the physical condition of some members of the Corinthian Church had resulted from their desecration of the observance of this holy institution. It is suggested that this is to miss the true significance of his statement. Rather, it would seem that in Paul's thought "the body" referred to in v. 29 carries his mind to the more inclusive body of Christ —the body which he has in believers of whom he is the Head, Christ's Body, Christ's Church, the fellowship of mankind in him.

If this is true, Paul is saying: "There is now perfectly evident among you the judgment of God against your failure to understand

and to practice the true life of Christ. You have eaten and drunk to excess in the presence of the needs of your brethren. You have lived with no discernment of the ties that bind you together into one brotherhood. And this you have done not only as a habit of life, but at the very time that you were met together to commemorate the selfless sacrifice of the Lord for you and for all his people. He gave his body and his blood for you; and you have made even his Supper an occasion for carnal self-satisfaction, and that on the low level of bodily appetites. This is to invite condemnation of soul and body. The judgment is plainly evident in your diseases and deaths. Such stuffings of your bodies with food and drink have resulted in their disease. This you can see with your own eyes, and by this measure the corruption of your souls."

What a word of warning for the Christian Church in America today! We Christians are part of America and American life. Our country is emerging from this global conflict perhaps the only great nation in all the world with resources sufficient for its needs, with production geared to hitherto unimagined possibilities, and with standards of living scarcely, if one whit, impaired. Christians, along with all other Americans, face a period of immense material prosperity. But we, with all other Americans, will live in a world much of which lies in total ruins. Property is rubble, transportation is disrupted, national treasuries are bankrupt, starvation and disease range at will upon their gaunt horses.

What will we as Christians do about it? This problem is excellently set forth in a recent editorial in *The Presbyterian Outlook:*[1]

"The Christian Churches of America today look across the seas at the devastation of houses of worship and the suffering and loss of those who compose the membership of European and Asiatic groups.

"This editorial is written to underline some high examples and to sound a word of caution. The examples are: (1) Archbishop Eiden of Sweden has called upon all his constituency to realize that it would be a denial of basic principles of Christian brotherhood for them to contemplate any expenditures for the improvement or renovation of their Church homes while the Churches in neighboring lands are struggling under the staggering losses that have come to them. (2) Britain's Churches, facing the necessities of reconstruction or replacement of some 4,000 buildings, are planning in most cases to give ten per cent of what they raise for themselves as aid to the Continental Churches, and they have asked that Americans direct their giving for the reconstruction of churches to

[1] Used with permission.

the Continent rather than to Britain.

"*Meanwhile it is reported that American Churches of all communions are planning an expenditure of about a billion dollars for improving and renovating their physical plants when the war is over. It seems that there are few congregations which are not accumulating large sums of money which they are holding in reserve for the day when building restrictions are relaxed.*

"There is another consideration which deserves our attention. In this war as in the last one, it is the middle class—the main support of the Churches—which has lost the most. We cannot tell what will happen in coming months and years, but, during the last struggle in Germany, in one year, 88 Protestant institutions were closed for lack of funds, while more than 700 new Roman Catholic institutions had been opened because of resources contributed from outside.

"If a different spirit does not soon emerge to lead our Churches to face and to accept their Christian responsibilities in this regard, our great Church buildings may be raised in fulfillment of our dreams, . . . but we shall find that our great efforts have built monuments to our shame. 'If any one has this world's goods and sees that his brother is in need. . . .' "

Our Church is offering us the opportunity concertedly, as Christian citizens, to have our share in the formation of a better world order than humankind has yet seen. Our strength will lie in our sincerity; in the measure to which we as a people are willing to order our lives in the interest of a just and durable peace. The supreme test of this will be our willingness to share with weaker peoples the blessings of true liberty, and in our recognition that all mankind was made by God to be one human family. An opportunity will soon be ours to contribute freely and sacrificially to a great fund of many millions raised by our Church for Christian world reconstruction. How we support this campaign, and how we use this fund, will also test our discernment of his Body.

It is time for *gungho* now—Christian *gungho*. Let us discern the Body, before it is too late. Awful as is the destruction in Europe and Asia—victory over a corrupt dictatorship dedicated to the destruction of human liberty; the opportunity for the realization of a just and durable peace through some form of co-operative world order; and the chance to share especially with Christian brethren, but also with all humankind in need—give us this day incentives and opportunities for Christian living rarely presented to the Christian Church—*if we discern the Body.*

"*If he discern not the body. For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep.*"

What's Next in World Order?

By Ganse Little *

THIS writer believes that a turning point in the thinking of the Presbyterian Church on social issues was reached when Dr. Vale, in his capacity as Moderator last April, sent out a telegram to all local pastors urging their wholehearted co-operation in bringing before their congregations the findings of the Cleveland Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace. This telegram went on to urge that local ministers in turn exhort their Church members to register with the American delegation to San Francisco their individual concern to have the findings of the Cleveland Conference incorporated, in so far as possible, in the charter of the new United Nations Organization. The fact that a moderator of the Presbyterian Church was willing to send such a telegram, that its financing was volunteered by concerned Presbyterian laymen, and that the response was so overwhelmingly favorable all indicate that the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. is fully committed both by General Assembly mandate and by concrete action to the necessity of implementing Christian idealism with the proper and considered influencing of political action through democratic processes.

The Challenge of San Francisco

It is upon this thesis that we expect the General Assembly of 1945 to continue the World Order Movement throughout another year, and it is under such a mandate that we face our most challenging task in our second year of activity. This paramount responsibility is to do all in our power to insure the ratification by the United States Senate without reservation of the Charter of the proposed new World Order Organization devised at San Francisco.

At the time of the writing of this article the San Francisco Conference is about to convene; at the time of the reading of this article that vitally important conference will presumably be nearing the conclusion of its great and significant labor. What will come out of San Francisco no man can at this juncture foretell; but one thing is certain—whatever does come out will then be presented to the Senate of the United States for official ratification.

Now the assumption upon which the main task of the World Order Movement in 1945 is predicated is that the proposals emerging from San Francisco will in their main

* Minister of the Broad Street Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio; Chairman of the World Order Movement Executive Committee; and member of the Committee on Social Education and Action.

elements receive the approval of the mind and conscience of the Church. It is too much to expect the plans evolved at San Francisco to be all that every Christian hopes for. On the other hand it is possible, but very unlikely, that the results of San Francisco could be so disappointing and inadequate as to make Christian approval and support impossible. It is far more likely that what comes out of San Francisco will be less than the informed and enlightened Christian conscience desires, but at the same time will constitute so marked an advance toward a more ideal world organization as to make United States participation in that organization imperative for the preservation of world peace.

If this be the result of San Francisco, then it is incumbent upon the World Order Movement to urge members of the Presbyterian Church, who concur in such general approval, to exercise every democratic means at their disposal to insure the ratification of the treaty by the United States Senate without reservation.

This last phrase, "without reservation," is most important. The technique by which such ratification is most likely to be defeated is the technique of "reservations." By this method the Senate would say, "Yes, we are in favor of United States participation in the new world organization but we will not go in unless this and that are changed." Now it is one thing to agree to go in dissatisfied with the proposed plan in its present state and giving notice of determination to work for fruitful change from within. It is an entirely different thing to say we won't go in at all unless this change is made now in advance of United States co-operation.

The results of San Francisco will represent compromise. That compromise will have been participated in by our own American delegation. These American representatives will have been urged by hundreds of thousands of Christians to get into the organization devised at San Francisco the maximum degree of amendment possible in line with the findings of the Cleveland Conference. There need be no diminution of our efforts to secure further amendment as the plan comes before the Congress, but there remains the matter of vital concern—that ratification of the treaty must be insured.

To That End

To that end the World Order Movement proposes to keep ministers and Church members informed throughout summer and fall of developments in the Congress and to promote the transmission from Church members and Church groups to the President and to the Senate of our Christian conviction that the United States should participate in the proposed world organization without reservation.

This is by far the greatest and most essential task confronting us. But in addition it is imperative that we inform and urge appropriate action upon the Church in connection with such issues as may come out of the peace settlements with regard to Bretton Woods, reciprocal trade treaties, the rehabilitation of occupied and enemy countries, the disposition of conquered territories, et cetera. We believe it also to be a proper function of the World Order Movement to continue to educate the Church as to the necessities for vital and concrete local action in the important field of race relationships because local racial situations have so vital a bearing upon those international issues which at the same time are also interracial.

We are convinced also that the World Order Movement should continue to support, by every means at its disposal, the missionary program of the Church in its phases of rehabilitation and expansion. For there can be no world organization capable of maintaining peace apart from men and women and youth in every country who know the Prince of Peace and whose lives have been saved by his grace and infused by his spirit of righteousness and truth. There is an abidingly real sense in which ultimate world order depends upon the realization of the New Testament promise, "The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ."

This Point in History

The coming victory of the United Nations means that they, and not their enemies, have power to establish the foundations of the future. On April 25 their representatives will meet in San Francisco to draw up the Charter for the General Organization of the United Nations for security and peace. On this meeting and what comes after it our best hopes of a secure and peaceful world depend.

The point in history at which we stand is full of promise and of danger. The world will either move toward unity and widely shared prosperity or it will move apart into necessarily competing economic blocs. We have a chance, we citizens of the United States, to use our influence in favor of a more united and co-operating world. Whether we do so will determine, so far as it is in our power, the kind of lives our grandchildren can live.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his message on the Bretton Woods proposals, February 12, 1945.

Washington Political Seminar

As a part of its program for a trained leadership, the Department of Social Education and Action, in co-operation with similar groups in four other denominations, assembled in Washington early in March a group of leaders in the field of Social Education and Action for a three-day political seminar. The following reports are written by two of the members of that group.

Vox Dei et Populorum

*By Ralph Norman Mould**

WE assembled eagerly, yet with soft tread because it was new ground, when the Department of Social Education and Action recently invited a number of S. E. A. chairmen from presbyteries and presbyterials to meet with similar groups of Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists at a Church Seminar on Legislative Action in Washington. The three days were as pack-jammed as the metropolis. We interviewed Senators (Hawkes, Ferguson, Tunnell, Hatch, Guffey, Burton, Tobey); from the senate gallery heard lend-lease extension debated; conferred with four division executives at the Department of State on international security organization and Bretton Woods; talked with administrative experts (on FEPC, UNRRA, Wartime Health, War Relocation Authority, and the Children's Bureau); besides sitting at the feet of commentator Baukhage, Congressman Monroney, and representatives of four organizations maintaining Washington headquarters for educational purposes. In addition to asking hundreds of questions we tried to digest the rich bill of fare and make some spot evaluations as to how the Presbyterian Church might profitably relate itself, to the national Government and legislative scene.

Our ideas about the enormous size and complexity of the machine that runs the biggest business in the country were augmented. The amount of grist that goes through the legislative mill is so large that any mortal is somewhat at the mercy of specialists who provide research facts and opinions. In the maze of items and cross forces it should be emphasized that there are laboring for us many intelligent and highly competent public servants who are not without social idealism and self-criticism regarding our form of democracy. Currently Congress has a committee working to revise its inefficient committee structure and procedure.

Legislators by and large said public opinion was important and they wanted more of it—but of the right kind! They claimed to discount a blizzard of telegrams or form letters from constituents who merely re-

* Minister, Second Presbyterian Church, Germantown, Philadelphia; Chairman of Social Education and Action, Presbytery of Philadelphia.

peated the stock phrases of pressure groups. They appreciate letters exhibiting personal concern with short but well-reasoned arguments.

While some deprecated, no one minimized the tremendous importance of lobbyists of whom there were 145 active acknowledged ones in 1924 and over 6,000 by 1939. To this picture can be added today some 1,000 trade associations that maintain legislative headquarters in Washington, and between 10,000 and 15,000 private lawyers representing one or more interests. They vary vastly in resources and influence but the total weight is something to be reckoned with in the legislative scene. There have been three investigations of their activities within recent years uncovering some abuses. Yet many close to the scene say that such organizations are inevitable and even desirable in a large functioning democracy; for they render service by acquainting legislators with the citizenry's wishes and supplying much factual research to overburdened and under-staffed Congressmen. Indeed, several representatives plainly indicated to us that if the Church wishes to have its opinions register effectively in Washington it too ought to organize to make itself heard and felt there.

The Church like the nation is experiencing a great ground swell of interest in political action as the last decade's events have awakened everyone to how closely his private life and collective relations (including the Church) are intertwined with decisions taken in Washington. Increasingly we emphasize individual responsibility if a healthy democracy is to endure. The organized Church more and more finds its fundamental concepts, liberties, ethical stands, and very place in society challenged in our revolutionary age. Not infrequently the Church remembering what it teaches and officially pronounces can view Capitol Hill only with a sense of frustration.

This is not the place to analyze the numerous reasons for the Protestant Church's loss of authority, and no one would pretend that our organization of a legislative committee would turn a complex and essentially spiritual trick. But there is a crying need for a more forthright orientation of the Church's task toward the enveloping social situation. Too long we have mistaken splendid emotions and sympathy for realistic deeds of justice and mercy. By and large the Church is simply not meeting the most pressing daily needs and ethical questions of our time. As John Calvin put it, the Church is intended to demonstrate that "God has created the world in order that it might be the theater of His glory." Membership in the beloved redeemed community permits neither complacency nor institutional self-preservation but a commitment to God in Christ that means warfare against every practice and attitude that deny the Fatherhood of

God, Christ's Lordship, and the brotherhood of man. The Kingdom must be sought—and in an age of domestic power politics! How this is to be done is far from easy to say.

As one specific means, it has been proposed by some that the Presbyterian Church create a legislative committee whose purpose would be educational. It would mean a group of qualified clergy and laity geographically near enough to Washington to keep tab on legislative developments and meet at least monthly, perhaps necessitating one full-time person on location. Its chief function would be informational: the gathering, appraisal, and dissemination of legislative facts to Presbyterians generally.

Undoubtedly many ministers and laymen would value an unslanted source of information that in effect said: We have no party or doctrinaire ax to grind; here are the current legislative matters in brief, the arguments pro and con as we see and sense them with nothing hidden; these are the principles involved and we believe the issue has been compassed by such and such Church pronouncement on page so-and-so of the General Assembly minutes; the forces behind and opposing the bill are these; here are the probabilities; *use your own right of private judgment* in what you do personally and among your members.

While an Assembly pronouncement is much more than the majority opinion of a certain number of Presbyterians at a particular time and place, no social pronouncement is mandatory upon the individual Christian. The legislative committee could never think of itself as representing so many votes and thus try to influence legislators. In the midst of pressure politics if the Church acted as just one more group it would become just that and the very influence we wanted would be vitiated. Nonetheless there would appear to be instances where the Church through a legislative committee could properly stimulate members to particular action on an issue and even give testimony at hearings as well as confer with lawmakers to voice Church convictions.

Perhaps even more valuable in the long run than any direct influence we might bring to bear in Washington would be the stimulation of people in local Churches across the nation to intelligent Christian responsibility as individual citizens. If only we could provide facts and opportunities for discussion, what it would do to Christianize the political thinking of our members!

In any event we should proceed cautiously toward a legislative committee. There is exploratory work to be done, dangers to be frankly faced, policy safeguards to be erected, possibilities to be carefully weighed. Justice Holmes in arguing a case once said, "Certain considerations here give me

pause, but having paused I pass on." Let the Department of Social Education and Action further study all considerations, report, and then we can decide whether we are ready to pass on to the official creation of a legislative committee.

As a Woman Saw the Seminar

By Evelyn Luchs *

ONCE a month we have a supper for our husbands. That is our only social action." When the blank came back from a social action secretary with that one comment I was disheartened, discouraged, and ready to question the possibility of social education in our Churches. Then I went to Washington and participated in the seminar. Returning, I said to myself: "Why not a local seminar to meet and talk with the probate judge who has charge of the juvenile delinquency in our county? to discuss with the county commissioners the use of county funds—how soon can the bookmobile go back on the road? and what about the hot lunches? what's the chance for a Mother's Care Center?—to find out from the social agencies of the county what is being done about foster homes in our area, and education at the children's home? After spending a day at the courthouse, every social action secretary in our community would know what was meant by social action anyway—and I doubt if any blanks would come back totally "blank" the next time. It is worth trying anyhow!

As a local social action secretary of the presbyterial, a hard-working housewife, and president of the state council of Church women, I'd about decided that the social action task would have to be handed over to someone else. Then I heard a member of the state department say while we were in Washington: "The next several months are the most crucial period of the coming fifty years!" And I thought what a privilege to live in these days—and what an opportunity to be a social action secretary in such times! So I came home to urge in my report to the presbyterial careful study of Bretton Woods, thoughtful support of Dumbarton Oaks, prayer for the San Francisco Conference—but no suggestion to find a new secretary!

As an educational experience, the Washington seminar was for this provincial member something tremendous. We've done plenty of writing to our Senators from Ohio, but we can write more direct and personal letters since we've talked with Senator Burton and watched Senator Taft in action on the floor. We've worked hard to build up interest in, and support for, a permanent FEPC here in Ohio, but we feel that we understand the problems faced by the commission better since we spent an hour

* S.E.A. Secretary, Athens Presbytery; President of the Ohio State Council of Church Women.

and a half talking it over with them in their offices. (One of the men at the FEPC office said, when asked about the possibility of getting their appropriation: "Mr. Roosevelt will see that we get it." Perhaps we need to be more insistent now than before that a permanent FEPC be established.) We got a new insight into the complexities and comprehensiveness of a federal program. We learned where to send for materials to help us in our study of problems confronted by UNRRA, Children's Bureau, or the FSA. Since we know the people involved, we know a little better how to bring "the Christian conscience to bear" in the discussion and action on issues and proposed legislation both in committee and on the floor of Congress. Because of the Cleveland Conference I knew something about the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. However, I did not realize how fundamentally important the Bretton Woods agreements were and how essential it is that we as Americans accept the fund and the bank. I should have known, of course, that economic stabilization underlies a durable peace.

There was something particularly significant about the fact that this was an interdenominational experience. Christians who "accept the discipline of the achievable" realize that it is only as we work together that we make any great impact upon our social order. They also realize that the Church which can function adequately in "one world" will have to be one Church. The discovery that Christians of every denomination share concern in these matters is a valuable one. Perhaps those of us who participated in the Washington seminar could invite other denominations to share in a similar seminar in local communities.

It has been pointed out that democracy is more than institutions and ways of life. It is a great social faith and a spirit which cares about people, all kinds of people. But for most Americans democracy means holding party caucuses, choosing officials on election day, saluting the flag, and maintaining national sovereignty. Dr. J. Paul Williams, in his book *The New Education and Religion*, suggests that "advance toward the American dream is possible only if Americans in large numbers come to have a deeper understanding of the meaning of democracy and if their knowledge is channeled into *activity* by deep-seated religious conviction." It seemed to me that the Washington seminar attempted to do just that: to help us to see that democracy cares about all kinds of people; to help us to understand how our religious convictions undergird this democracy; and to give us techniques that will carry us and our Church groups in the direction of real democracy in America and a just and durable order in the world. In short, the seminar helped us to find ways to implement our Christian idealism in such a time as this.

Free Enterprise Vs. Social Planning

By John R. Everett *

ONE of the major problems of contemporary life that vitally concerns the Christian centers is the controversy raging between those who advocate a free enterprise economy and those who propose social planning. The Christian is concerned to see that the principles of the Christian Gospel are made at least partially actual in the affairs of men. It is thus necessary to analyze both sides of this issue from the perspective of a Christian attempting to follow the will of God.

The term "free enterprise" has varied and conflicting meanings. Historically, it came into Western thought as a reaction to the nationalistic economics of European mercantilist governments. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century mercantilism attempted to organize the economic assets of a nation for the purpose of obtaining supremacy over other national groups. Production and distribution were minutely regulated. The meaning of the individual was found in his service to the state, and his worth was measured, not in dollars, but in terms of his aid to the established national objective. It was considered a crime to consume more than a bare mininum of manufactured articles, and unemployment was punishable by prison sentence. In effect, mercantilism was a stringent type of social planning.

In 1776 Adam Smith wrote his famous polemic against the economic and moral inadequacy of mercantilist doctrine. Human society, said Smith, could best achieve its well-being if the state assumed a more or less passive role and if the economic activities of men were freed from regulatory restraints. Man should be allowed freedom for the getting and spending of wealth. The "unseen hand" of competition would guide the economy into the fullest utilization of all resources and the most just distribution of the final product. Each individual would offer his services to society, and the laws of the "free market" would determine their value. Thus, an automatic pricing process would do what the planning boards of mercantilism had failed to do—establish social justice. Men had a right to the value they created and this value should ultimately be decided by society itself. Nineteenth-century liberals agreed that the highest justice is obtained under conditions of free competition.

The economic fruits of this philosophy were certainly tremendous. Nineteenth-century America devel-

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oped vast resources and gigantic industries on the principle that every man was economically responsible only to himself. Experimental science and business banded together for the profit of both. The great techniques of machine production were organized and exploited under the free enterprise system. Yet, with it all, the system broke down. Periodic depressions that caused mass misery and suffering came to be a part of the free capitalistic structure. Labor was required to accommodate itself to the machines while the newly created wealth went to the side of capital rather than the workers. Human values lost their sanctity and material "goods" pretended to take their place.

When Adam Smith and the great classical economists were claiming that true justice is obtained in the open market, they were making two basic assumptions: In the first place, they assumed a condition of pure competition in terms of a large number of producers and an equally large number of consumers. If one producer offers his products at a higher price than does his neighbor, there is no reason for the consumers to buy from him. In other words, competition made all prices conform to the cost of production plus a reasonable profit. In the second place, labor was assumed to have an absolute mobility. Employees could and would change their jobs if they could get higher wages in another industry or from another employer. Every employer would be under constant pressure to keep his wages high or lose his men. The workingman would thus receive the actual social value of his labor.

Whatever might have been the truth of this automatic system when it was brought forward, the development of the nineteenth century indicated the falseness of these assumptions. In the first place, the marriage of science and industry called for larger and larger aggregates of capital. Railroads, for example, can hardly be said to conform to the law of a free market regarding a large number of producers. One railroad will service a wide area and involves tremendous quantities of capital for construction and maintenance. A competitive road would not only be superfluous but would have an exceedingly difficult time raising sufficient capital. The same might be said for most public utilities and not a few capital goods industries. The result is that the free market is annihilated in favor of monopolies and trusts. Since a monopoly is capable of controlling price, the automatic character of the free enterprise pricing system is destroyed.

The free enterprise wage system met a similar fate. Labor is not so mobile under conditions of monopoly and specialized industry as it possibly was under free market con-

ditions. In the small-shop situation a laborer was paid on the basis of his skill and his necessity. As machines came to be more highly specialized they made the individual skills of the artisan less important. Those who still had skills of value to industry usually found that they were forced to work for one employer since he held the monopoly. Thus the automatic wage determination of the free market became impossible.

As wages were lowered and prices raised, consumption declined and the economy went into a period of depression. The ideal of a full utilization of all productive resources faded farther and farther into the background. Inevitably the antithesis of social planning challenged the thesis of free enterprise and the various forms of social thinking began to construct new types of organization that would utilize all resources and obtain justice.

Free enterprise had apparently been able to perform miraculous feats of production, yet its attempts at distribution failed so completely that the entire system went on the rocks. The social planners maintained that an effective use of all resources could be obtained only if the collective group consciously sought to obtain equity in distribution. This could be done, they declared, by public ownership of the means of production and by paying each according to his need and requiring each to produce in accordance with his ability. Periodic depressions would be avoided by keeping a constant rate of production and consumption. The planning boards would decide what should be produced and what should be consumed. The economic justice that free enterprise had failed to maintain would be established by the planning boards themselves. Rational control would be substituted for planlessness.

The emphasis of the free enterprise system had been on individual responsibility and initiative. If everyone looked out for himself and used his talents for his own good, the competitive principle would insure that this action was best for the entire society. Certainly the Christian Gospel informs us of the necessity for self-reliance and individual responsibility to God. Man was created in the image of God, and as such in freedom. To take away man's freedom of action is to deny a basic Christian principle. In this the advocates of free enterprise are fundamentally sound. At the same time, however, the Christian Gospel requires an affirmative answer to the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" All men are created by the same God and are essentially equal and brothers before God. In this is the implication of social responsibility and a denial of ab-

(Continued on page 25)

For Tim

Report from San Francisco

San Francisco, May 5, 1945. Against a background of history-making events has the United Nations Conference, itself history-making, been held. Within the first week of the conference, the full-sized headline "Nazis Quit," a report later disproved, momentarily interrupted a plenary session of the conference. The picture of Mussolini hanging by his feet shared the front page with the news that Argentina had been invited to the conference. Hitler reported dead among the ruins of Berlin, the Reichstag captured by the Red Army—these forecast the early cessation of fighting in Europe and the collapse of Germany. Such events are solutions to military problems only; they raise political, social, and economic problems that must be solved in the future. To keep peace in that future is the purpose of the International Organization which the delegates to this conference seek to create.

Delegates are here in a representative capacity and are responsible directly to their Governments. For example, in a press interview Dr. T. V. Soong was asked why China abstained from voting on the admittance of Argentina. He replied that the Chinese delegation had wired to Chungking for instructions which had not been received when the vote was taken. Each Government in turn has to act in keeping with the need for support from the diverse elements in its population. And in this international conference each Government is limited by what the other forty-eight Governments deem to be necessary in the light of the needs of their peoples. This is not to discredit the United Nations Conference; rather, it is to add to its significance. For peoples must learn to co-operate through their Governments if they are to be an instrument for international security and justice.

The delegates to the San Francisco Conference are able and high-minded men and women. To hear them from the platform and to talk with them individually makes this clear. But this is not a Cleveland Church Conference, made up of representatives of Churches whose professed loyalty is to the Kingdom of God; nor is it a meeting of self-chosen idealists whose only responsibility is to themselves. Rather, they are loyal to and guided by their Governments. The charter which they will agree upon will therefore be a political document, and its weakness and its strength in the light of Christian principles should be so judged.

San Francisco therefore affords an excellent opportunity to discover what

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are the thoughts of the Governments of the United Nations toward each other. From every evidence one thing is unmistakable: they want agreement upon an international organization. This appears to be the fixed policy of Governments that are responsible for the security and well-being of about eighty-five per cent of the peoples of the world. It is true that the small nations have many qualms about some of the elements in the proposed basis for an agreement. It is likewise true that the great powers are not disposed to ask too much of each other. But whatever these other factors may be, there is evident a determined purpose to discover a level of agreement for an international organization.

The major issue therefore is the extent to which justice, equality, and other spiritual and moral factors will be allowed to enter as the basis for agreement. May 5, as this is written, is too early to give an answer. It must be insisted, however, that the answer should be viewed in the light of the fact that it is *the peoples through their Governments* who are fashioning that answer. This morning at his press conference Mr. Stettinius, the Secretary of State, gave out the changes in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals agreed upon jointly by the four sponsoring powers—China, the United Kingdom, Soviet Russia, and the United States. One noticeable change is the insistence upon and provision for the observance and promotion of human rights. It is known that this was called for with great insistence by the United States delegation. It is known that in turn it has been vigorously urged by the representatives of the Churches and other organized groups. The statement made by Mr. Stettinius is worth quoting: "Many suggestions made by individual citizens or civil groups in the United States are reflected in these amendments. The assistance and advice of the consultants to the United States delegation have been invaluable." It is noteworthy too that these consultants represent forty-two national organizations.

The United Nations Conference witnesses to the importance of their Government to the citizens of each nation. And much that is happening during this conference witnesses to the power of organized public opinion upon government. Upon inquiries at the offices of some of the members of a United States delegation, I have learned that the Presbyterians, together with one other denomination, have registered a distinctive impression through their communications.

Our Sovereignty: Shall We Use It?

By Wendell L. Willkie *

SINCE the turn of the century we have lost the power of directing our own national destiny. We must regain it. To show how much we have lost control over our destiny I need only point to our unwilling participation in two world wars and to the instability of the American economy during the period between them. We have sought to escape war and to maintain our economy as a separate entity in the world by jealously guarding our sovereign rights. I am forced to the conclusion that something is wrong with what we have meant by the term "national sovereignty" if it produces Hawley-Smoot tariffs; the banking failures, depressions, and misery of 1929 and ensuing years; highly nationalistic economic policies, with consequent deficit financing and violent discords among groups within our own society; agrarian unrest and farmers' strikes; and, finally, two decades after we brought our boys home from one war in Europe, the loading of transports to take their sons across sub-infested seas to fight in another.

I believe that if we are to avoid the same disastrous cycle when the present wars have been won we shall have to give up the idea that sovereignty is something simply to be conserved, like the talent that was laid away in the earth in the Biblical parable, and accept the idea that it is an active force to be used. That is the thesis of what I have to say here.

I want to see our Government and people use the sovereign power of the United States in partnership with the sovereign power of other peace-loving nations to create and operate an international organization which will give better protection to the rights of all nations, on a wider political, economic, and social basis, than has ever yet been attempted in history. To my mind, mutuality of responsibility and service represents more real freedom, in the sense of freedom from wars and economic disaster, than can be gained through adherence to all the sterile formulas of exclusive national sovereignty written into all the books of international law ever published.

This means that we must expand the use of our sovereignty to the extent that other nations will expand theirs to accomplish the common purpose. If we decide to do this, we may succeed in turning the page of history which we fumbled at but failed to turn twenty-five years ago. If, on the contrary, we decide to continue the same static, passive, and essentially frightened isolationist policy which we adopted after the last world war, I feel sure we shall be heading into a third one.

* From an article in *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1944. Reprinted with permission.

Human Equality

By David Braun *

FOR there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek." So wrote the Apostle Paul to the Christians at Rome, and they were not easy words to write. They were words that few self-respecting Jews of his time would have uttered, least of all so pious a Jew as Paul. Why then did he do it? He did it because something new had come into his life that gave him a new understanding of the essential equality of all men. In Christ there was no difference—it was as simple as that.

In our time we are much concerned about some practical application of the brotherhood of man if for no other reason than self-preservation. We are well aware that without better human relations there will be no human relations within a few years. But we don't always know where to begin. We can be as scientific as we want to—and scientifically we can prove the equality of man mentally and emotionally and still not have the slightest reason for doing anything about it. There is no moral compulsion in science. As the advertisement stated, "an airplane has no morals," nor does dynamite, nor an intellectual understanding that men are equal. We've got to go deeper to find out why we should behave as human beings.

If Paul had been scientifically minded, he might have said that there is no difference between Jews and Greeks—but who cares? But when Jesus came into his life he discovered that he did care and that it was something he couldn't dodge any longer. "For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." Here was something that had changed his whole outlook on people. It made him realize that the Greek was just as good as he was, and it gave him the astonishing assurance that before God he was as good as anyone else.

I want to say that I agree with Paul. There's only one real reason for believing in the oneness of man, in the brotherhood of the human race. It's the Christian reason, and it's the only one that's got any moral vitamins in it. It's the only one that has a chance at clearing up the moral blind spots of our prejudice and intolerance. "For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek"—in Christ.

I want to mention three current books that point out three facts about our nation's life and temper.

* Minister, Swarthmore Presbyterian Church, Swarthmore, Pa.

The first is Richard Wright's new book, *Black Boy*. It is a bitter, biting, and dreadful book, and you ought to read it. It is a tale of the tortured youth of a Negro boy, of the cruel prejudices and barriers that were placed in his way and that we have placed in the way of several millions of our black citizens. Making due allowance for Mr. Wright's baffling personality, the book still points unerringly at the weakest and worst spot in our democracy. No one needs to be a scholar or an expert newspaper observer to sense the rising tide of hate and intolerance against Negroes, Jews, our Japanese-Americans, and other minority groups. You can see it and feel it in any railway coach, or club room, or in many of our finest homes. To attack a man because of his race or nationality is a devilish kind of business because there is no way that he can defend himself. Listen to one victim of this unfair pressure: "If you discriminate against me because I am uncouth, I can become mannerly. If you ostracize me because I am unclean, I can cleanse myself. If you segregate me because I lack knowledge, I can educate myself. But if you discriminate against me because of my color, I can do nothing. God gave me my color. I have no possible protection against race prejudice but to take refuge in cynicism, bitterness, and hatred." [1]

The easiest thing in the world is to prove another race or group to be no good. All we need to do is point out a few examples of crafty Jews or vicious Negroes and we've made our case. Anyway, that's how we do it most of the time, and by the same method we could prove that all Germans are like Hitler, all Japanese are savages, all Americans are gangsters, or that all Presbyterians are stuffed shirts. Israel Zangwill says that "the Jews are a frightened people. Nineteen centuries of Christian love have broken down their nerves." It's not Christian love that has done it; it's this curious logic of ours that identifies an entire race with a few of its worst members.

Philip Wylie says: "Curdle the common sense of the common people and you can capture them." It's what Hitler did to millions of his followers, and it can happen here. Mr. Howard Brubaker, commenting on the passage by the legislature in Albany, New York, of an anti-discrimination bill, says it may lead to similar action by other states and by Congress. He adds: "It certainly would be silly to make people move to New York in order to be created equal." It certainly would be silly and yet it almost seems necessary.

When Betsy Barton came under the guidance of a gifted teacher after her sickness she was told: "We must deal with the paralysis of your imagination more than with the paralysis of your legs." Paralysis

[1] Andrew T. Hatcher, in *The New Republic*.

of the imagination—there's no better way to describe what happens when we yield to any doctrine of race antagonism. And there's one sure way out for us—in Christ, "there is no difference."

The second book is George Papashvily's *Anything Can Happen.* It is the antithesis of *Black Boy,* and where one book points to our national shame the other points to our national greatness. America took what could be found in those flaming words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In a real sense it takes a superior person to grant equality to another person. Certainly it takes a superior quality in a nation. Wasn't it a king who said to Hitler: "We have no Jewish problem because we do not feel inferior to the Jews." Or put it another way, as does the editor of *The New Yorker:* "The United States is regarded by people everywhere as a dream come true, a sort of world state in miniature. Here dwell the world's emigrants under one law, and the law is: Thou shalt not push thy neighbor around."

Now, that is a great tradition, one of the greatest there is and one we've got to remind ourselves of again and again and keep active in the things we think and say and do about other people. There was an incident that points out how deeply this tradition is part of us and how jealously we've got to guard it. It is the story of a group of American soldiers on a remote Pacific island at Christmas time. They fashioned a Christmas tree out of a battered palm tree and made decorations and gifts out of the odds and ends of their desolate camp. Came Christmas Eve and they knew they needed something else. So they went to the near-by internment camp for the civilian Japanese and borrowed a dozen Japanese children. "You've got to have kids at Christmas, haven't you? Who cares what kind they are?" said one of the soldiers, and if you want a picture of the finest in our American culture you've got it right there.

The third book is Trueblood's *The Predicament of Modern Man,* and I want to use only one quotation from it. "The first great testimony of the Church is that of equality before God. Because every man, whatever his color, his knowledge, or his financial standing is a child of God, there is a profound level at which men are equal." Recognizing our weakness and our greatness, here then is our hope.

When these words were written into the Declaration of Independence every person in this struggling little country was facing a common danger. Today we face common perils together—oppression, slavery, intolerance, poverty, war. The common peril of new wars is drawing us together; it may be that these other ever-present evils can draw us together too.

Our hope then lies in two simple facts: our common perils and our common faith. If you want something quite revolutionary, take a searching look at this Christian faith of ours. There is no idea in history that is more revolutionary than this idea that Christ lived and taught, that the measure of human greatness is, not one's ability to dominate, but one's ability to serve.

"There is no difference"—in Christ, said Paul. But even when we've made a genuine commitment to Him we're still beset by our pride, our sin, and that strange corrupting sense of superiority in ourselves. And Jesus has an answer even to that. If you want to be a superior person, if you want to demonstrate your high quality, if you've got a disquieting urge to be a superman, here is the moral magic by which you can do it: "Whosoever wants to be great among you must be your servant, and whosoever wants to hold the first place among you must be everybody's slave."

Sanctuary

Patriotism—1945

A Service of Worship *

The Prelude.

Hymn: "Ancient of Days"—Tune, "Ancient of Days."

The Exhortation:

As we come together to worship God and to bring our country before him in gratitude and aspiration, let us remember that the years pass for nations as for individuals, and bring to each succeeding generation its own characteristic responsibilities. What 1945 brings to us is far different from that which our fathers faced in 1776. A struggling group of thirteen colonies venturing into untried fields of unity and democracy has become a closely knit union of forty-eight states possessing a power unmatched by any other nation. This fact lays upon us duties world-wide in their reach and import. Such a realization sobers our thought and leads us to a fresh consideration of God's will for us in the present world. Let us therefore first turn to him in thanksgiving for the growth and the ideals which mark our national life.

An Act of Thanksgiving:

For the vision, courage, and sacrifice of the founders of America who established a nation dedicated to justice and freedom;

Thanks be to God.

For the experiences of the years which have justified this venture in democracy, and built up a strong people consecrated to a full and free life;

Thanks be to God.

For American freedom of speech whereby ideas become common property, grievances are aired, misunderstandings removed, problems solved, creative advance made possible;

Thanks be to God.

For America's freedom to worship according to the individual conscience without the tyranny of ecclesiastical dogmatism or governmental dictation;

Thanks be to God.

For the ideal of freedom from want by which all people may enjoy an adequate livelihood and an abundant life;

Thanks be to God.

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* Prepared by Deane Edwards, Commission on Worship, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

This complete service for congregational use on the first Sunday in July will be available June 15. Order from any Presbyterian Book Store. $1.00 a hundred.

For the ideal of freedom from fear by which individuals and nations may no longer dread persecution, tyranny, violence, bloodshed, and war;

Thanks be to God.

For the open doors of today whereby America may share her power and resources with the world, and be in the forefront in bringing unity and peace to mankind;

Thanks be to God.

Let us pray.

The Invocation (the minister may offer his own prayer or the following):

Almighty God, who didst lead our fathers to these shores that they might here lay the foundations of civil and religious liberty, bless to us the glorious heritage of faith and freedom which we have received from them. Preserve thou the nation which was established by their prayers, their heroic deeds, and their sacrifices. Help us to be true to the great ideals for which they stood, and may our country ever be the home of justice, liberty and true brotherhood. Defend it against every peril, and make it increasingly a blessing to the whole world. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.[1]

The Anthem.

The Scripture: Deut. 6: 4-9; Isa. 2: 2-4; Isa. 61: 1-4; Rev. 21: 1-5.

Prayers for Those in Service:

Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?
Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there:
If I make my bed in Sheol, behold, thou art there.
If I take the wings of the morning,
And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;
Even there shall thy hand lead me,
And thy right hand shall hold me.[2]

(*A moment of silence for individual prayer for friends and loved ones in the nation's service.*)

Almighty God, give thy presence and thy courage to those who serve and defend our country in all the armed forces on land or sea or in the air. Make them faithful in duty, persevering in hardships, instant in obedience, valiant in battle, and loyal and self-sacrificing in all things. Keep far from them all pride, passion, cruelty, or vengeance that they may not give themselves over to the power of evil, but may always do thy will. Protect them from all sin, and keep alive their faith and trust in thee. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.[3]

Hymn: "My Country, 'Tis of Thee"—Tune, "America."

The Sermon.

[1] From *The Book of Church Services*, the National Council of Congregational Churches. Used with permission.
[2] Ps. 139: 7-10.
[3] G. A. Cleveland Shrigley. From *Prayers for Victory*. Thomas Nelson and Sons. Used with permission.

Prayer for the World:

LEADER: O God, who hast encouraged us to utter our petitions for all need, we come before thee on behalf of a suffering world. Into thy compassionate hands we commit the peoples of all lands, beseeching thee to heal the wounds of war, and reestablish all the earth in peace and righteousness. Through Jesus our Lord.

Let us pray for the nations: that selfish national ambitions may yield to divine purposes; that a rebirth of moral law may come to all peoples; that the spirit of sympathetic understanding may guide the councils of state; that the hatreds of war may be tempered and the ties of friendship and good will strengthened; that the way may be found to a world order which shall unite the nations in the purposes of peace.

(*Silence for prayer.*)

LEADER: Let us pray for our nation: that power may not corrupt our purposes; that partisan strife may not weaken our unity; that humility may temper our judgments; that a high sense of international responsibility may determine our policies; that we may be a people consecrated to the will of God for his world.

(*Silence for prayer.*)

LEADER: Let us pray for the Church: that upon her lips may be the ancient gospel of her Lord; that amidst the perplexities of this present time she may know her message and her mission; that she may have the prophet's scorn of tyranny, and Christ's tenderness for the downtrodden; that her passion may be the coming of the Kingdom and the breaking of that day when God's will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven.

(*Silence for prayer.*)

LEADER: O God, who sitting on the throne sayest, Behold, I make all things new; fulfil now thy word in the world. Instil a new sense of the brotherhood of the nations. Form them into one great family. Give them new ambitions, not to destroy rivals, but to strengthen brethren; not to dominate the world, but to serve it. Let every nation with new devotion bring its peculiar gifts, its glory and its honor, and lay them at thy feet to be the adornments of thy Kingdom; that we may see fulfilled the saying that is written, "The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ." Amen.[4]

Hymn: "Long Ago a Prophet Sang"[5]—Tune, "St. Athanasius."

Long ago a prophet sang
Of a nation that should be
Servant unto God and man,
And should set the nations free.
God our Father, by thy grace
May our country fill that place.

Faithful must that servant be,
Not to falter or despair,
Till throughout the world he see
Justice reigning everywhere.
God, we pray thee from the heart,
Help our country play that part.

Patience will that servant need
Not to weary or relax,
Not to break the bruised reed,
Not to quench the smoking flax.
Give us, Lord, in this dear land,
Grace to know and understand.

By such service, nothing less,
Can the curse of warfare cease;
Only out of righteousness
Can there come the fruit of peace.
Lead us, Lord, we humbly pray,
In that one and only way.

[4] By William P. Merrill. Copyright, 1945, by the Hymn Society of America. Used with permission.

[5] From *Our Hope and Strength:* Devotions for the Period of Reconstruction.

Free Enterprise Vs. Social Planning

(Continued from page 15)

solute individual freedom. The Christian must look at the economic organization in terms of preserving the essential freedom of the individual as well as the brotherhood of man.

The unbridled operation of the free enterprise system denies man's responsibility to man. Individualism then leads to a type of economic anarchy that is roundly condemned by the fullness of the Gospel. On the other hand, absolute social planning emphasizes social responsibility to the exclusion of individual creative expression. Man under this system loses his distinctive character and becomes nothing more than a unit of labor within the state. The Christian must reject both in favor of a synthesis that will correctly affirm the totality of the Gospel. It cannot be either free enterprise or social planning; it must be both.

We have been describing free enterprise and social planning in their most ideal forms. The inherent dangers of each should be clearly recognized in terms of their possible perversions. To centralize the power of social planning in the hands of a few and assume that they will administer their authority with a selfless zeal for the common good is exceedingly unrealistic. It is dangerously naïve to assume that power in the hands of the state would not corrupt its users.

It is, however, just as naïve in our present day to give lip service to the principle of diffused power that is inherent in free enterprise. It is an insidious perversion of the truth when representatives of monopolistic industry claim to advocate "free enterprise." Actually they are asking that they be allowed effectively to plan the lives of their consumers and laborers—tyrannical private planning passing under the guise of freedom.

In many of the situations of modern economic life there is no alternative between planning and free enterprise. Rather, the question concerns the feasibility of public or private planning. In the areas of so-called natural monopolies—that is, where one financial and operating unit can most efficiently handle the trade—the answer may be found either by a socialization process or through the operation of rigid Government controls. For the Christian these are matters of expediency rather than principle. Whichever will operate most effectively to preserve personal liberty, promote brotherhood, and check man's destructive power is the Christian's answer. It should also be remembered that the maximum of human welfare in terms of liberty and brotherhood can never be achieved until all material and human resources are employed to their fullest. Thus the Christian can be a priori neither for nor against monopolies and consolidations. The given circumstance must be the determining factor. Also large areas of economic activity can be best handled by small businesses under conditions of relatively free competition. There is no reason to assume that Government owned or regulated monopoly in another industry will make this impossible.

Contemporary Christians are actually in search of an economic democracy. Totalitarian economics is just as bad as totalitarian politics. On the other hand, absolute freedom is chaos, and chaos is the negation of liberty. The Christian Gospel affirms man's mixed character with infinite potentialities for free creative activity as well as limitless possibilities for evil. All effort toward the establishment of economic order should be aware of both capacities. Social planning is necessary as a check on man's sin, while free enterprise is a prerequisite of individual fulfillment. Neither can work justice nor promote brotherhood alone.

The Workshop

Brooklyn Reports on World Order. About fifteen of our Churches held definite World Order programs, a number of them using Paul Hutchinson's book, *From Victory to Peace*, for a study course. Ten or twelve other Churches worked in World Order ideas with the regular missionary and educational programs. Some Churches did an outstanding job, notably the Hollis Church. They had a whole series of Sunday-evening meetings through their Great Commission Fellowship whose membership is open to any in the Church. They had a list of outstanding speakers. The pastor of the Church circularized the entire congregation, sending them the message of the Cleveland Conference and asking them to write to the American Delegation at San Francisco.

My own Church also summarized the Dumbarton Oaks attitude of the Federal Council's Commission in the News Letter which went to everybody. Both in the News Letter and the Church calendar we urged people to write to San Francisco. Many Churches reported sermons on "The Church and World Order." All in all, we have had a very good response from the presbytery.

Reported by John Paul Jones, Chairman, Social Education and Action, Brooklyn Presbytery.

Students Study—Then Act. University Church students climaxed their study of Dumbarton Oaks and the San Francisco Conference with a bit of social action. Sunday evening, April 22, at our Sunday Evening Fellowship, each table appointed a chairman and discussed what they wanted put into a letter to be sent to each of our delegates at San Francisco. Separate letters were written to each delegate and signed by each person at the table. Sixty students participated in this matter of letter writing. It was a kind of social action none of them had ever done before. We hope to do more along this line pertaining to pertinent matters of political and social concern.

Reported by H. Richard Rasmusson, Minister, University Presbyterian Church, West Lafayette, Indiana.

From Victory to Peace. A series of dinner-table discussions on this theme were held in the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Dayton, Ohio. The first dinner meeting was preceded by an afternoon and evening conference of all Presbyterian Churches in the Dayton Presbytery in connection with the World Order Conferences of November and December, 1944. There was an average attendance of about 175 at the four dinner-table discussion meetings. At each of these the discussion topic of the evening was presented to the entire group. Discussion of specific questions on various phases of the topic followed informally at the dinner tables of eight or ten persons, each with a discussion leader. The four topics discussed under the general theme, "From Victory to Peace," were:

1. "Mapping Out the Route"—Which Way from Dumbarton Oaks?
2. "Equipment for the Journey"—Food, Arms, Military Training?
3. "Fellow Travelers"—Equal Opportunity for All Races, Creeds, and Colors, Victor and Vanquished?
4. "The Cost of the Trip"—Cost of Victory, Cost of Peace, How Shall We Pay?

A similar series might well be held to consider the problems arising at the conclusion of the San Francisco Conference.

Reported by Hugh Ivan Evans, Minister, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Dayton, Ohio.

Study and Action

The results of the San Francisco Conference will shape largely our study and action program for the summer and autumn, 1945. What that meeting will bring forth no one can say, but as soon as possible after the close of the conference we shall publish a small question and answer leaflet on the United Nations Charter and later a larger pamphlet on "What Next in World Organization and the Next Steps for the Church." Whatever form the Charter may take, problems and issues discussed in the pamphlets and other materials listed below will confront all of us as Christian citizens.

The United Nations—An organization for peace and world progress.

(1) A wall chart about 22″ x 28″; (2) a two-folder containing the chart in two colors, and the text of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals with the voting procedure; (3) a pamphlet on radio programs on "Building the Peace"; and (4) a series of four Foreign Affairs Outlines for discussion leaders.

Order from Department of State, Washington, D.C. *Free.*

The Bretton Woods Proposals.

Fund and Bank—Questions and answers on Bretton Woods proposals.

Order from The Treasury Department, Washington, D.C. *Free.*

After Victory—Questions and answers on world organization.

Bretton Woods Monetary Conference—Plans and achievements.

Iran: Test of relations between great and small nations.

Order from Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. *25 cents each.*

Beyond Chaos—World Order? A special San Francisco Conference issue of Social Action magazine. Discusses the charter, ratification, and Christian responsibilities. A valuable chart of decisions of international conferences of World War II is included. *Order from* Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. *15 cents.*

Radio Programs

Beyond Victory—A series of weekly broadcasts on postwar issues sent to 95 co-operating local radio stations in all parts of the United States. A special group of programs is in preparation in co-operation with the Commission on the Organization of Peace. The first four programs will be:

Planning at San Francisco—Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Barnard College.

Basic Issues of World Peace—Commander Harold E. Stassen, U.S.N.R.

The Americas in a World at Peace—Senator Warren R. Austin, Vermont.

Contrasts—Paris, 1914; San Francisco, 1945.

For information regarding this series and your own local station, write:

The World-wide Broadcasting Station, 598 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Film

The Peace Builders, 16 mm., sound, 1 reel. Steps leading from the Atlantic Charter to San Francisco. Discussion guide with film. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada. *Sale, $17.50; rental, $1.25.*

Order from Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

About Books

New Perspectives on Peace, edited by George B. de Huszar. University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

This book, published under the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions, is a new approach to the study of international relations. The editor proceeds from the hypothesis that "in order to put international relations on a scientific basis, it is necessary to liberate it from the juristic influence." By that he means that according to present custom nations are viewed as legal entities, whereas they are actually social groups. International relations, therefore, if emancipated from juristic influence, should be concerned about the relations between peoples rather than relations between states. International relations thus interpreted becomes a frame of reference including all the social sciences; not their sum total, however, but their special data referring to the interrelations of peoples.

To be specific, the approach to peace and world order today is largely geographical and legal, revealing the need of an analysis from the broader—"economic-psychological-sociological-legal" — viewpoint.

This present volume is an attempt to bring together relevant data pertaining to peace from the fields of geography, history, ethnology, economics, sociology, law, education, psychology, philosophy, and religion. Each chapter was written by an authority in the field, and was delivered as a lecture early in 1944. Under these circumstances the book will not be expected to provide a clearly integrated blueprint for peace, but "it does focus attention on a number of significant factors, defines several important goals, and points the way toward their achievement."

This reviewer, who has been writing, speaking, and reading quite extensively on the subject of world order, approached the book with prejudice. He came away from it feeling that it deserved a second and a third reading, and that it would be referred to often. It is not, however, a book for a warm summer afternoon. It requires close reading, but the minister or layman who seriously desires to see the problems of peace in their true perspective should not let the difficulties stand in his way.

WILLIS CHURCH LAMOTT

The Gentlemen Talk of Peace, by William B. Ziff. Macmillan. $3.00.

It is Mr. Ziff's feeling that we are placing too much emphasis on the political structure of world peace and paying too little attention to the economic and technological problems involved. He feels that the causes of war are many and complex but that the major ones today are the rapid technological developments that alter the distribution of power. Groups achieving more power, he declares, seek to change the political structure, and conflict results when they challenge the former holders of power.

The author is utterly pessimistic about the future unless all of us see the magnitude of the problems involved, see the terrifying prospect of future wars, and become ready to make the major sacrifices and adjustments necessary to insure peace.

In recounting the costs of war, human and economic, he presents figures so large that they become almost meaningless. He paints a picture of future war waged with all the technological improvements we are learning in this one. He sees flying artillery, cities laid waste by gas and explosives, whole armies transported by air, and the world reduced to a shambles. His conclusion is that with us or without us a unified warless world is inevitable.

Either we will voluntarily co-operate and achieve it peacefully or we will continue fighting until one nation emerges as conqueror of the rest.

His analysis is the type of honest realism that we need these days. His suggestions are pertinent, constructive, and drastic. He proposes that the United States, Russia, and Great Britain unitedly organize the world for peace by forming five federal units, geographical, self-sufficient, and self-contained, but organized in a loose world organization designed to deal with problems common to all. Such units, says he, being approximately equal in power, having no need to grab from others, would be inclined to live together in peace. Thus, while peace would not forever be insured we would be well on the way to it.

As is often the case, one can wholeheartedly agree with the realism of the author's analysis. He correctly estimates the vital forces that drive men to war, sees the needs, urges, hopes, and dreams that lead to conflict, and is well aware of the depths of selfishness and brutality that lie beneath our urbane exteriors, and recognizes that by and large when men achieve power they will use it to further their own interests.

But when he presents his constructive solutions he seems to have forgotten all this and presents perfectly rational reasons for a different course of action. One wonders what makes him think that man, who got himself into this crisis by ignoring reason, will get himself out by using it.

The course of action proposed by Mr. Ziff, and many others, demands more than reason. It presupposes a faith in the meaningfulness of life and the importance of God. In other words, to win the peace there must be the dynamic of our Christian faith to help men to do the irrational right things instead of the present irrational wrong things. Any solutions that ignore this may be helpful, but they are always superficial. HUBERT C. NOBLE

The United States and the World Court, by Denna Frank Fleming. Doubleday Doran. $2.00.

This book is a continuation of Dr. Fleming's studies of the methods of the United States Senate in the handling of treaties of peace. It is "critical of the Senate's long-established ways of killing peace treaties—of its glacial pace in considering them, of its deadly habit of trying to 'perfect' great multilateral treaties for our benefit alone, of its scientific technique of slowly carving the life out of peace machinery by 'reservations,' of its egotism in assuming obedience to its sovereign will by the Governments of sixty other sovereign nations."

Dr. Fleming, who is professor of political science at Vanderbilt University, states his case eloquently and fearlessly, presenting a passionate plea for our new responsibility for international co-operation and peace in the world of tomorrow. THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Take Your Place at the Peace Table, by Edward L. Bernays. Gerent Press. $1.00.

A trained public-relations man places his experience of twenty-five years at the disposal of men and women, singly or in groups, who want to have a part in making the plans for an enduring united nations peace and in making the plan work after the war is ended. We need have no fear of losing the peace, says Mr. Bernays, if we remember that "public opinion is the one force in the world today that can plan—and win"—that kind of peace; and that we can help to create public opinion if we know and use the tools of persuasion at our command. This book tells how this can be done.

The book is not a treatise on postwar problems or on world organization but a guidebook to action, filled with clearly stated facts, specific plans, and practical methods. It is addressed to the individual who wants to work so that none shall have an excuse for doing nothing. But

the techniques, strategies and tools presented are equally useful for social action groups in Church and community.

Added to this outline of action is an appendix containing historical background, bibliographies and lists of many other types and sources of materials. Church leaders and community workers will welcome this useful handbook. It is interesting to note that Mr. Bernays makes this book his contribution to the cause of world order without profit to himself.

E.G.R.

Democracy Under Pressure, by Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund. $1.00.

This is the fourth in a series of six exploratory reports on postwar questions which Mr. Chase is making under the sponsorship of the Twentieth Century Fund. "The Pressure Boys in Action" is Mr. Chase's theme. Pressure groups, "the despair of patriots," he points out, are not a sudden calamity, but like many others have grown up with the country and are the direct result of certain economic developments. In his first descriptive chapter he emphasizes the fact that these groups are organized and operated on the "me first" principle. They seem to be led, for the most part, he declares, by men who think mistakenly that the principle of responsibility for the common welfare is "Sunday School stuff" rather than the first law of modern technology.

Mr. Chase deals with the "Big Three," the most powerful of these highly organized groups: Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Agriculture. These, he says, have "organized monopolies after their fashion and left the fluid play of competitive forces far behind them."

Big Business, with its monopolies which restrict production and hold up prices together with its lobby to promote its political interests, makes a farce of the principle of free competition. Under the "collective bargaining" of Big Labor, bargaining for wages is no longer in the hands of the free individual and "the free wage market has ceased to exist." Big Agriculture, "through the Farm Bloc in Congress, got the A.A.A. for big farmers and the FSA for little farmers, . . . and many other benefits" and "prices are pegged and output restricted under shelter of the federal Government."

Mr. Chase sees the reason for the organization of pressure groups in the fact that representation in government is on a geographical basis only and not according to economic, industrial, trade, professional, or wage-earning interests. To cope with the Big Three pressure groups which "among them have pretty well demolished the free market as Adam Smith pictured it," says Mr. Chase, the community developed the Big State. But when you see the "pressure boys in action," he says, it is a question of who really "is in charge." All this, in the writer's opinion, presents the threat of a strong authoritarian government.

What can be done? Mr. Chase indicates that a reorganization of government which would permit direct representation of these and other special interests might offer a solution. Short of this radical change, he says, much might be done to curb the organization of lobbies and control their activities through appropriate legislation, publicity as to personnel and activities, consumer organization and public education and discussion and other similar methods.

This book is a step in the direction of such education. It is readable and understandable. It exposes to the public a practice that needs to be understood and checked. It closes on a democratic note, for it lays the problem and its solution where it belongs, in the lap of "the people."

E.G.R.

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

The Corn Is Green—with Bette Davis, John Dall, Joan Lorring, Nigel Bruce. (Warner Bros.) The story of a spinster schoolteacher who determines that her promising pupil, a young Welsh miner, shall have an education. She wheedles the local squire and keeps her young protége hard at work so that he wins a scholarship to Oxford. But trouble begins when a young Cockney girl enters the story. The cast is well chosen, photography and direction are good, and the music is attractive. **Mature.**

The Valley of Decision—with Greer Garson, Gregory Peck, Lionel Barrymore. (MGM) The film, based on the novel by Marcia Davenport, tells the story of Mary, an Irish girl, who is employed as a maid in the house of a Pittsburgh industrialist, and becomes the trusted friend of the whole family. The young son of the house falls in love with her and she with him, creating a difficult situation. Mary decides to leave the household but the boy's mother persuades her to go to England as the confidante of the young daughter of the family who has married an earl. The boy's father, however, learns of the love of the two young people and brings Mary back to marry his son. But the happy ending is marred, for, during a strike in the family steel mill, Mary's father, an embittered cripple, kills the boy's father and is himself fatally shot by the mill guard. The difficult problem of strikes and strikebreakers is well handled, the cast well chosen, and the acting good. **Mature—Family.**

Counter-Attack—with Paul Muni, Marguerite Chapman. (Columbia.) The film celebrates an incident in the famous Russian counterattack in which the Soviet engineers built a bridge just under the surface of a river and blasted the enemy in a brilliant surprise move. A party of Russian paratroopers, guided by a girl, attack the German headquarters and round up seven German soldiers in the cellar of a factory. Enemy artillery shells the place and traps them all. There they wait for release, keeping the Germans at bay with their tommy guns. Although the film version has too many of the qualities of the stage play on which it is based, it does build up a good deal of suspense and the sequences of the bridge and the attack, as well as the good performance of the cast, compensate fully for any faults. **Family.**

The Brighton Strangler—with John Loder, June Duprez. (RKO Radio.) The sinister story of an English actor who, because of a blow on the head during an air raid in London, forgets his own identity and assumes that of the character he has been playing—"The Brighton Strangler." His re-enactment in life of his stage crimes brings about a wave of terror that ceases as accidentally as it began. The film is acted and produced with a consistent theatricality quite suitable to its type, and for those who like crime stories it is, as one reviewer puts it, "quite satisfyingly horrific." **Mature.**

Medal for Benny—with Dorothy Lamour, Arturo de Cordova, J. Carroll Naish. (Paramount.) Based on a story by John Steinbeck and Jack Wagner the film is an oversimplified account of life among the **paisanos** of California but it is also a sharp exposé of the exploitation of the heroic deeds of the war dead. An indigent old father waits for the return of his wild but lovable son, Benny, who earlier had been forcibly expelled from the town. Finally, news comes that Benny has died fighting in the South Pacific and is to be awarded posthumously the Congressional medal of honor for extreme bravery. The local Chamber of Commerce sees, in the event, an opportunity for town publicity, but Benny's simple father, learning of the plan, rebels. The acting is good and the point well made. **Family.**

Brewster's Millions—with Dennis O'Keefe, Helen Walker, Eddie "Rochester" Anderson. (United Artists.) In this third filming the farce, based on the novel by George Barr McCutcheon, is brought up to date by making a discharged doughboy of young Brewster, its hero. As in previous versions, he must spend a million dollars in two months in order to inherit his uncle's fortune, and his fiancée and friends, who can't be told of this stipulation, nearly wreck things for him by attempts to curb his extravagances. Although the impression of being faintly dated keeps the humor on a moderate level, an easy cast and director have things rolling along briskly and amusingly. **Family.**

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